Can. Law Dobell, Richard R.

# LECTURE

ON

# IMPERIAL FEDERATION

DECEMBER, 1888.

BY R. R. DOBELL.

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Henry J. Morgan
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Two years ago, it was my privilege to be asked by the Literary and Historical Society of this City to read a paper on Imperial Federation. For my lecture this evening, I have endeavored to revise what I then prepared, expunging much that had only reference to the formation of the League, referring at greater length to the advances that have been made in its practical progress, and endeavoring to combat the arguments which have been advanced against its probable future success.

Perhaps the most frequently used argument against its promoters, and one that they have had to concede as being apparently fair, has been the one charging them with not being able to formulate any definite scheme, and that even after several years of existence, the League is still without any clear programme for its future attainment.

Strictly speaking, however, this is not so. The League has two or three definite and distinct aims—one was clearly defined by the commercial representatives of this country, when they passed during their 8th session, held in Ottawa, in January, 1878, the following resolution :

"That it is desirable to communicate with the Associated Chambers of Commerce in England with the view of obtaining their assistance in organizing a confederation of representatives from the Boards of Trade of the Dependencies of Great-Britain, to meet in London once a year

or as often as may be considered advisable, with the object of drawing closer the trade relations between the Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire."

I think it well to note that whatever may be the result of this movement, its inception originated in Canada, received the unanimous approval of the Dominion Board of Trade; and from that time the expressed desire for closer trade relations between the Colonies and Great Britain has grown more earnest; and every new effort is better directed to lead to practical results. In further answer to the charge that we have no programme, that we are merely following a vague dream, I cannot do better than quote an extract from a late paper by Dr. Jessop in the Nineteenth Century Magazine which reads as follows:

"It is quite sufficient to condemn any men or any opinion to pronounce them vague—why! since the beginning of the world no great forward movement, no great social or political reform has ever achieved its object and gone on its victorious course conquering and to conquer which did not pass through its early stage of vagueness. The leaders were profoundly conscious of an evil, though they did not see what the proper manner of setting to work was."

Now this was written with reference to quite another subject, but to some extent it expresses what the position of the League is to-day, viz: That recognizing the necessity of a change in the present relations between the Mother country and the Colonies, both politically and commercially, they are endeavoring by obtaining the

opinions of the colonists, and by holding conferences for discussing them, to find a safe course to adopt for the attainment of a closer and more lasting union : and I hope before the close of the evening to convince you that we are not dreamers, but have an object to work for which Lord Roseberry, the President of our League, in his late speech at Sheffield, said :—"was a cause for which anyone might be content to live, it was a cause, for which, if needs be, anyone might be content to die."

Two years ago I could only draw attention to the progress that the principles of Imperial Federation was making. At that time it had not received the countenance of any of the leading statesmen of England, and it could not be said to have entered into the domain of practical politics. The conference which I, at that time alluded to as about to be convened was held; and it would be impossible to exaggerate its importance. It was presided over by the Rt. Hon. Sir H. Holland, (now Lord Knutsford,) Colonial Secretary, and attended by the leaders of both sides of politics in England, besides the ablest representatives from the several colonies. The result of that conference was to establish and inaugurate the first steps to Imperial defence, Australia taking the lead in colonial history by joining the mother country, in providing special and extraordinary means for the protection of Australasia. The principle of Federation for the purposes of mutual defence was approved of unanimously—the prevailing sentiment at the conference being in complete unison with what our well known chief The Rt. Hon. Sir John A. MacDonald expressed at the first confederation

conference held in London in 1885. He said: "he believed that the whole policy of Great-Britain was opposed to aggressive war, and in any other war the people of Canada would be ready to take their share of the responsibility." Is there one here to-night who would wish he had said less? I hope not. I believe there is not one true Canadian who would not endorse that statement.

Before closing this lecture, I shall add one or two other details of the meeting.

The League received a great impetus after this conference. Branches were established in almost every town in Great Britain, and in most of the large towns in the Colonies: and it is now conceded to be the most important question, not for Great Britain alone, but for the whole British Empire—how to frame such measures as will draw the various component parts of the Empire into one indivisible confederacy.

I cannot refrain here from a passing tribute to the man who first defined what the possibilities and future benefits of this Imperial Federation might be. I refer to the late Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster. I think if those who have passed hasty hostile opinions on the League were endowed with some little of his profound judgment, his extended knowledge, his independent and unselfish spirit, they would pause before they called it a phantasy of visionary enthusiasts.

I will not detain you to-night by going over at great length the reasons why a closer union is desirable, as that

is conceded by nearly all without reference to any party politics. I cannot do better than give you the views Mr. Forster foreshadowed in his first paper advocating its objects. By his death the League have lost a leader whom they can never replace, but he has left us the benefit of his matured wisdom. He laid great stress on the advantages to be derived from a council composed not only of the statesmen of Great Britain, but of delegates from all the Colonies He argued "that in times when there may be danger of internal disunion, such a council, would in fact be a tribunal which would pass judgment on selfish, impulsive, and unreasonable proposals," and he quoted from Lord Grey's words, in adding what the influence would be in Great Britain "that when the English beyond the seas were unanimous in opposing her policy there would be a fair presumption that we were in the wrong." In matters relating to Colonial and Foreign difficulties, he admits that "they could not be safely solved without regard to colonial feeling and deference to colonial opinion." In reading this we cannot help reflecting had such a voice been raised when the first British Colonists on this Continent felt aggrieved and wronged, how different would have been the history of the last hundred years. Fortunately to-day we profit by the lessons taught both Great Britain and the Colonies by the painful issue then fought out. We can now meet and discuss not only what is best for our own particular and immediate interests, but what is best for a great Empire, which we did not make, but which it should be our first duty to consolidate and strengthen. May I not enlist on behalf of this movement

a little of the leisure of the loyal citizens of Quebec? We ask you for your co-operation and assistance. It advocates no narrow policy for the benefit of any distinct nationality: it will not enrich the great by oppressing the poor. It will widen our field of active operations, extend our interest and sympathy to all our sister colonies, and above all give each one a claim not only in the past but in the future history of the British Empire.

I will now endeavor to give you a brief historical sketch of how the colonies of Great-Britain were obtained and how they exist to-day; and it will be desirable to draw your attention to the extent of the countries and people that we propose to confederate; and also to consider the variety of produce and climate that would be embraced in it.

Much that I may state has been recorded before by others; and I will take occasion to mention that many of the figures which I shall give you, and the diagrams, are borrowed from the very able address delivered before the Statistical Society by Sir Rawson W. Rawson K.C.M.G.

After the consideration of these details I hope to make a few practical suggestions as to the feasibility of bringing about Imperial Federation. I will challenge some of the objections that have been offered, and I shall be more than gratified if at the close of this lecture I may number many here present as members.

The Colonies of Great Britain consist of first, the Indian Empire, which is governed under distinct and

special provisions and ruled over by a Viceroy. Secondly those known as Crown Colonies and to which responsible government has not yet been extended but which are presided over by an executive, chiefly nominated by the Crown : and thirdly, those dependencies forming by far the most important portion of the Empire and to which have been given almost entire freedom of action.

I have assumed that it will not be uninteresting to refer in passing to the date and manner of their acquisition by the British Crown. I propose also to give with equal brevity a sketch of the Colonies of the other great European States, comparing those of Great Britain with theirs, and drawing attention to the difference in the races which people them, the various systems adopted for their government, and showing the advantages which almost without exception appertain to the dependencies of Great Britain. As also it is not an unimportant point to establish the necessity of some common agreement as to the fiscal policy to be adopted by Great Britain and by our several Colonies, I have taken statistics showing the relative volume of trade between the mother country and her Colonies, and comparing the same with the trade between other foreign countries and their colonies.

Of these colonies we place the Dominion of Canada first, as she has been justly called the brightest gem in the Imperial Crown. You are all conversant with the records of our history. While Columbus was urging Ferdinand and Isabella to fit out an expedition in 1490 to 1492 for the discovery of land further South than this, the

family of the Cabots, father and three sons, at their own charge were granted a charter by Henry VII on March 14th, 1496, to set up the Royal banner in territories discovered by them as the King's vassals. They landed in Newfoundland and returned to England with less cause for congratulation than those fortunate discoverers of the more Southern parts of the Continent and the Islands adjacent thereto. In the second voyage Sebastian Cabot reached Labrador and Hudson's Bay. It was then that all the Crowned heads of Europe displayed increased zeal for extending their sway into unknown lands. Spain and Portugal made great strides, supported by Pope Alexander VI, who drew a line down the middle of the Atlantic, and published a bull giving all that was East of the line to Portugal, and Westward to Spain, the aim of both countries being not so much to colonise as to gather a portion of the untold wealth which glistened in the minds of some of their avaricious and uncontrolled adventurers. I can stay here but for a moment to glance at the meteor like enterprises which shot around the world. Spain loaded her heavy galleons with the spoils of Peru and Mexico, and the weight of riches then acquired sunk her so deep in luxury that she could not hold the continents she had conquered; and she is only now awakening to realize that "a nation's as a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things she possesseth." Chivalrous France, burning with zeal, cared more to plant the standard of the cross where it had never been known before, than to gain wealth, or to retain by patient enterprise permanent possession of the lands she had run over.

In 1534, Jacques-Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence, and Champlain in 1603 founded New France; and it was not long after that that they claim, as Prof. Gafferel has lately written, that the French were masters of all North America, excepting the coast of the Atlantic. The heroism displayed by many of her pioneers was of the highest order. Their progress was not marked by rapine and plunder; and if the Government of France at that time had not been wholly given to pleasure, the history of this continent might have been such, as never to have given us an opportunity of including it in a British Confederacy.

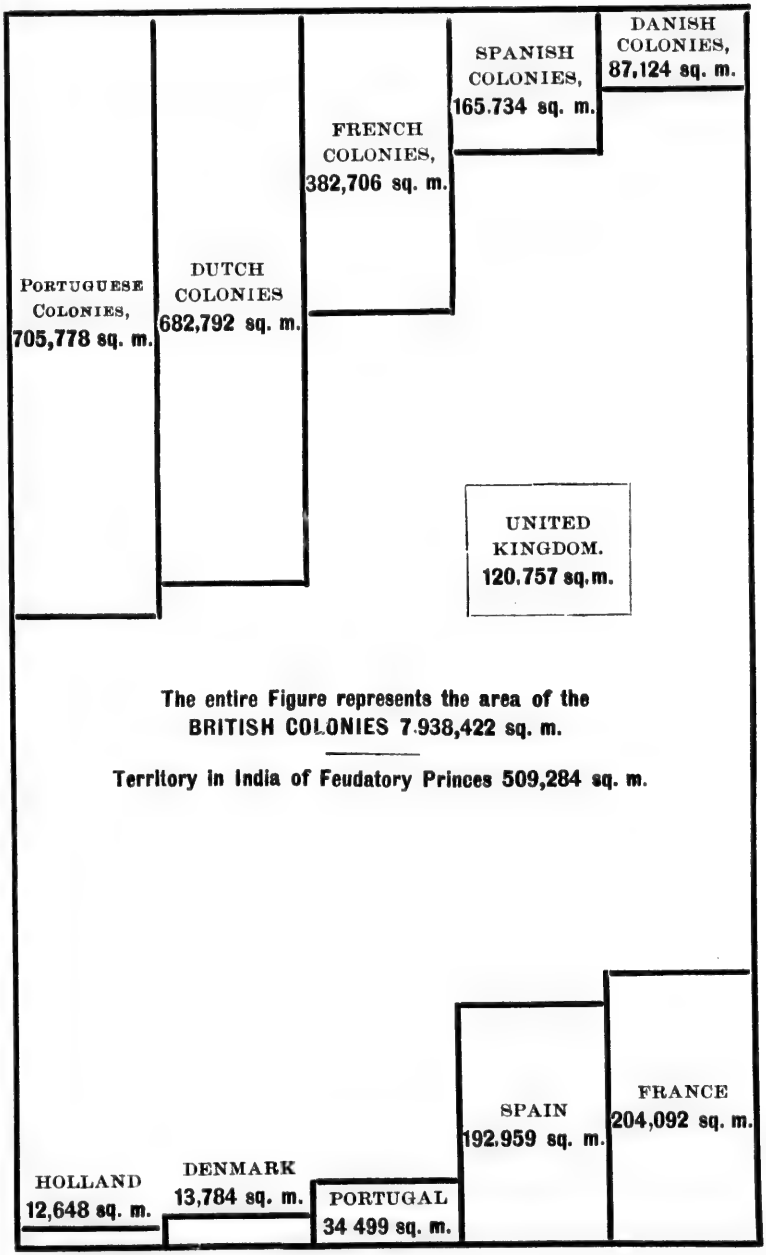
In South America the Spaniards had made themselves masters of all that country now known as the Republic of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, with Peru, the Island of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Mexico—Portugal forming the first permanent colony in Brazil and other settlements in the country now called the Argentine Republic.

In the East great conquests had been made Portugal, Denmark, and Holland were the first to break into the then unknown Eastern world, but with the exception of the Portuguese few attempts were made by any country to plant real bona-fide colonies until England began to acquire a footing as a conquering nation. It would take not one lecture, but a winter's course to trace the various changes which followed each other in rapid succession until early in this century. In every fresh war islands and continents which had been in no way near the scene of action were signed away by treaty. Clive and Hastings

wrested India from the power of France. Wolfe by the battle of the Plains and the apathy of the French Court gave into British control this vast continent

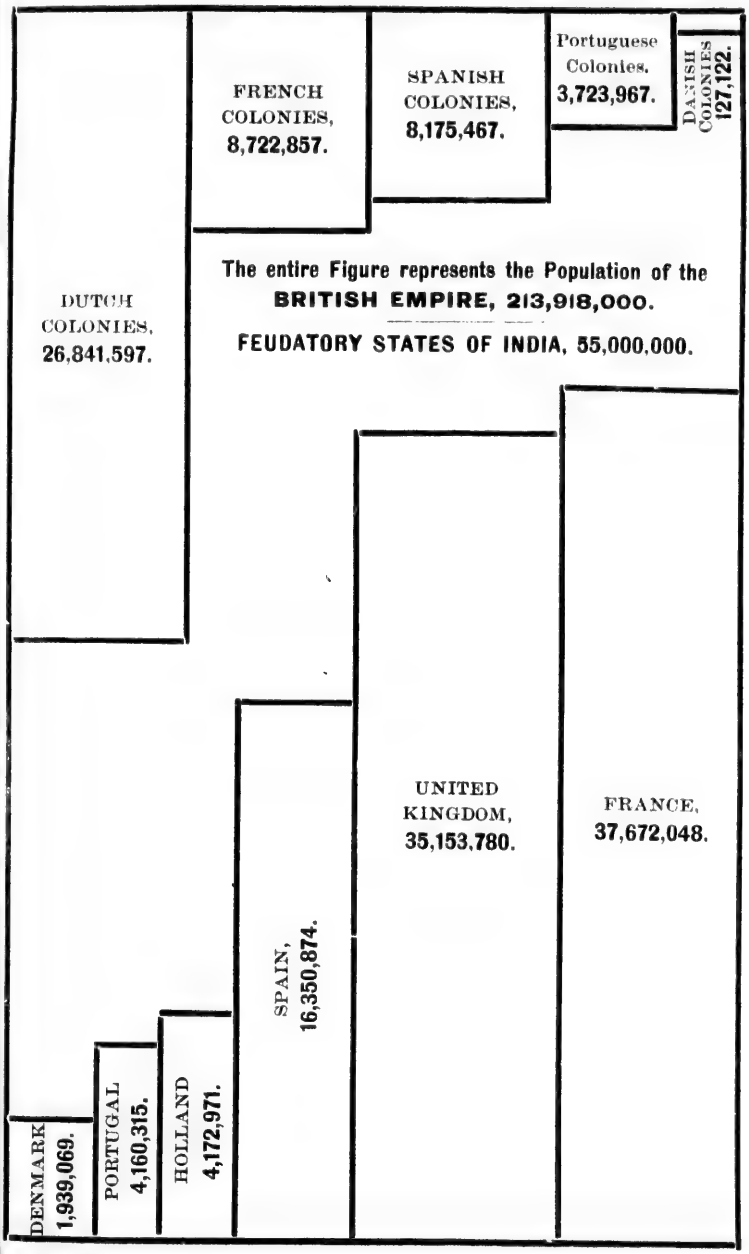
And then it was that England was blest not only with the power to conquer but was imbued with the desire to do justly and rule wisely. No nobler example in dealing with her conquered countries has history to record than has been shown to the world by the impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors of the triumphant General, Warren Hastings. What he had done was nothing to the ruthless slaughter of some of the other conquerors, but England knew that to hold an empire the bonds must not be of welded iron, but of threads of silk, so this most victorious of generals had to stand before his peers to be tried. Happily, the charges were not sustained, but the integrity of the law was vindicated, and India knew that the sceptre had fallen into the hands of a country whose banner insured justice to the oppressed.

Without following the details of each new conquest, I must ask you to glance at the map and see the various islands and continents which are comprised in what we proudly call the British Empire. There are the great areas conquered by arms or settled by treaty or colonization, Canada, Newfoundland, India, The Cape of Good Hope, West India Islands, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Leeward, Bahamas, Gambia, St. Helena, Gold Coast, Gibraltar, British Honduras, Penang, Sierra Leone, Ceylon, Trinidad, Malta, British Guiana, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Heligoland, Mauritius, Ascension, Falkland, Aden, Perim,


PORTUGUESE COLONIES, 705,778 sq. m.
DUTCH COLONIES 682,792 sq. m.
FRENCH COLONIES, 382,706 sq. m.
SPANISH COLONIES, 165.734 sq. m.
DANISH COLONIES, 87,124 sq. m.
UNITED KINGDOM. 120.757 sq.m.
The entire Figure represents the area of the BRITISH COLONIES 7.938,422 sq. m.
Territory in India of Feudatory Princes 509,284 sq. m.
HOLLAND 12,648 sq. m.
DENMARK 13,784 sq. m.
PORTUGAL 34 499 sq. m.
SPAIN 192.959 sq. m.
FRANCE 204,092 sq. m.

Hong Kong, Labuan, Lagos, Fiji, Cyprus. These collectively, representing an area of nearly eight million square miles, and a population of 268,000,000 controlled by Great Britain, with a population of 35 million, living within an area of 120,757 square miles. At a glance, if you refer to the diagram you will see the relative area of the British Colonies as compared with those of the European States, and in diagram 2 you will realize the relative population.

The chief colonies belonging to other countries are principally within the tropics, as say, Cuba, Porto-Rico, Phillipine Islands, Canary Islands, Ladrone, Caroline, and Pellew Islands, Fernando Po, San Juan, belonging to Spain; Algeria, St. Pierre Miquelon, Guadaloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, Senegal, Kennion, Cochin-China, Tahiti, Tunis, to France; Moluccas, Java, Nuda Ceram, Celebes, Sumat[illegible], Surinam, Borneo, (W. C.), New Guinea to Holland; Madeira, Azores, Guinea, Serafuca, Timor, and settlements near the Congo to Portugal, and these are inhabited chiefly by half civilized races, who are kept under by a large military force: and to live amongst them is nothing less than social banishment. In addition to this striking preponderance of both area and population in favour of the British Colonies, think of the greater advantages possessed by them in their being the homes of a happy, enlightened and free people. What other country can boast of such an offspring as Australia, New Zealand, or Canada, the former having sent over four hundred millions of gold to pay for articles of import consisting chiefly of the necessaries and comforts of life.


DUTCH COLONIES, 26,841,597.
FRENCH COLONIES, 8,722,857.
SPANISH COLONIES, 8,175,467.
Portuguese Colonies. 3,723,967.
DANISH COLONIES 127,122.
The entire Figure represents the Population of the BRITISH EMPIRE, 213,918,000.
FEUDATORY STATES OF INDIA, 55,000,000.
DENMARK 1,939,069.
PORTUGAL 4,160,315.
HOLLAND 4,172,971.
SPAIN, 16,350,874.
UNITED KINGDOM, 35,153,780.
FRANCE, 37,672,048.

Look at the position of the Cape of Good Hope. Notwithstanding all the mistakes with which the British Government are charged in the administration of that colony, compare it with any of the Dutch or French settlements where the inhabitants are held in with military severity, and where Constitutional Law is unknown. Canada I need hardly name as an illustration: for it is familiar to us all, still in the history of nations will you find an example equal to that set by Great Britain in dealing with this country at the time of federation of the several Provinces into a Dominion? Did she exact any return for all the expenditure made during the previous years of her rule? Was not her entire aim to make us united, free, and strong? The fortresses, Crown Lands and Government buildings were transferred without paying the cost of the parchment which embodied the title, and the only pledge exacted was that we should in our commercial and fiscal policy put her on no worse footing than we did any other country.

This brings us down to the present day. Is it so very strange that the colonists from Australia, Canada, or the Cape, appreciating what Great Britain has done for them, viewing it from our own stand point—for I believe the future can be defined in clearer outline here than can be obtained in viewing it from Great Britain herself—they perceive the advantages of all the colonies being connected and the mother country drawn nearer and strengthened so that no strain can part them. There are difficulties. Well, is it not the duty of all statesmen to try and overcome them? What are men endowed with brain, leisure

and opportunity for, if it is not to encounter difficulties? Our difficulties in Canada have been largely increased by the proximity of a powerful neighbor, who would be only too glad, if she could to carry to its bitter end the Monroe doctrine, and claim our fair Dominion as her own. There are also difficulties and dangers arising from the sophistry of leaders, who would allure us by the glowing pictures they draw of the wealth and magnificence of these United States, and by the advantages which they claim would accrue to Canada if she would only part with her birthright and join hands with them. One who still claims to be a Canadian but not resident here, who has the ambition, if not the ability, to be a leader, has urged us to follow his guidance into a commercial union with the United States. Fortunately, the eagerness which he evinced in advising us of the tempting bait being prepared for us in Washington revealed the snare that was being laid for us. Another and a much more dangerous counsellor is one who poses in an attitude of exalted isolation, and who, although not a Canadian is resident amongst us, who beguiles us by the perfect style and beauty of his essays, and who characterizes this movement as the fantastic dream of a few enthusiasts.

In a late paper which he has written on American statesmen he concludes a chapter of some interest with the following paragraph :

" If England, on her side, will be content to give up the illusory hope of being a political power on the American Continent, and cease to interfere in the internal relations

and affairs of the communities which inherit it, a moral re-union of the English speaking race is, not only a possibility but almost a certainty of the near future. Even an Anglo-Saxon franchise may be practicable though Imperial Federation is not."

If anything could be said to cheer one who believes in Imperial Federation it is the opinion herein expressed; because although possessing great command of our mother tongue, the writer has ever failed in his prognostications of the political course of any country.

Perhaps at this point it would not be out of place to bear testimony to the wonderful progress and prosperity of the United States; and it would not be wise for us to leave unchallenged the apparent desirability of a closer union with them. The benefit to be derived from such a union no doubt would be immediate in its action, and speaking as a Quebecer, our real estate would probably be augmented in value. We would certainly have an influx of American traders which would stimulate our trade: but would the advantages be as lasting or as great as those which would flow from Imperial Federation? I think decidedly not; and in proof I would refer you to the figures on the diagrams, which show that were a close fiscal policy adopted by Great Britain and her colonies, it would open for Canada markets more varied, countries more populous and wealthy, and diversities of requirements more multiplied than we could obtain by union with the United States. To show how little we at present participate in this trade, I may state that the total trade

## PERCENTAGE OF TRADE
### OF ALL THE
## COLONIAL POSSESSIONS WITH
## UNITED KINGDOM

## PERCENTAGE OF TRADE
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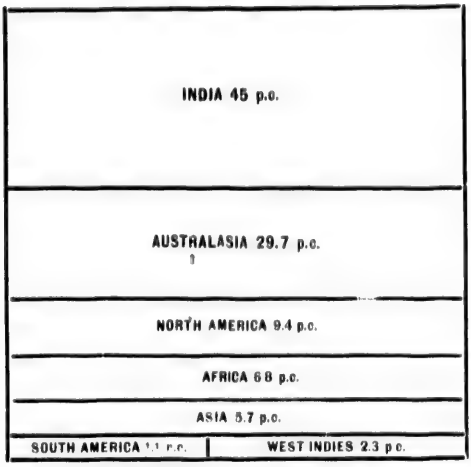
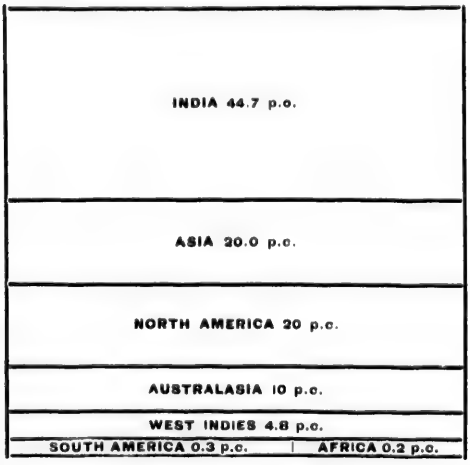



## WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

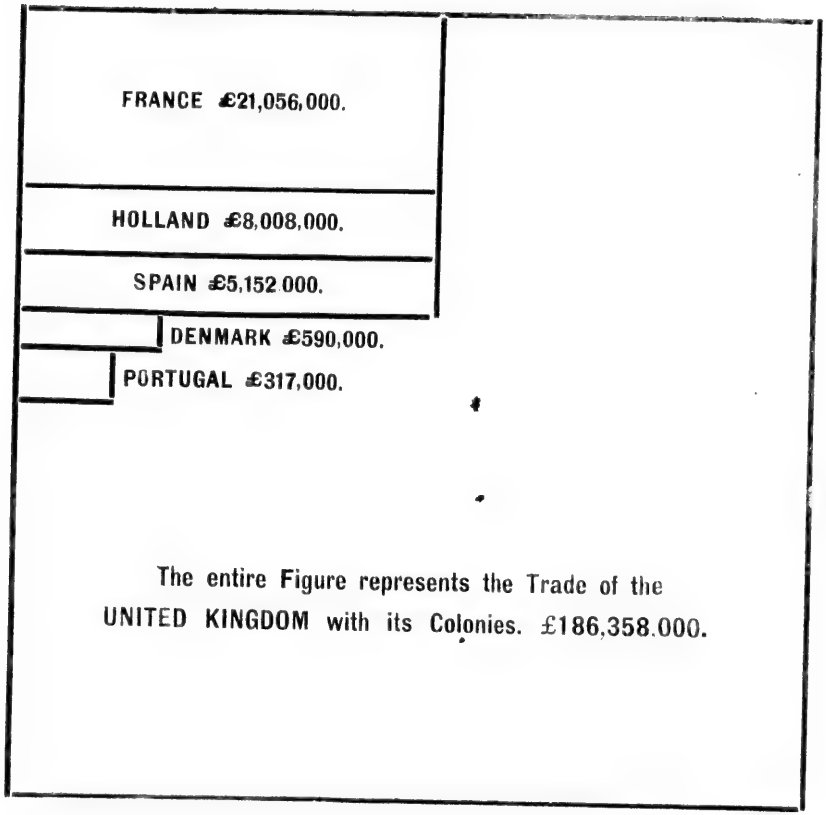



## WITH COLONIES.

between the Dominion of Canada and the other dependencies of Great Britain only amounts to two per cent, while Australia controls forty-nine per cent, and India twenty-nine per cent. With foreign countries our trade amounts to ten per cent against Australia's twenty-eight per cent—showing clearly that the trade of Canada with the other colonies and foreign countries is capable of considerable development.

This prosperity of the United States has been owing, I believe, to no small extent to the perfect free trade existing between their several sovereign states, and although they have a prohibitive tariff against other countries, and especially Great Britain, she has never ceased to extend to them all the advantages of her open ports. I claim that if the United States had been challenged twenty years ago when they put on their prohibitive tariff, a retaliatory policy being pursued not only by Great Britain but by all her colonies, the United States could never have maintained their tariff. I am satisfied that the United States have grown rich by the one sided free trade given to them by Great Britain and the equal freedom they enjoyed for trading with any of her colonies.

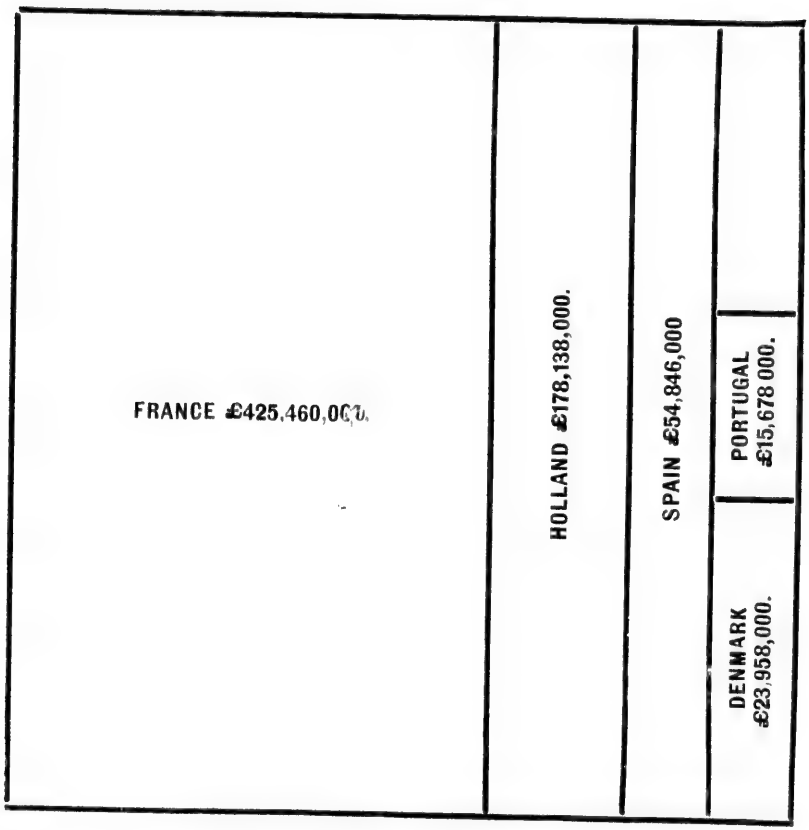
It would be misleading to speculate that Great Britain would at present entertain any departure from her one sided free trade. The old warriors who fought in the battle against monopolies and extreme protection will not even allow the question to be raised. They almost exemplify the proverb that right held to too rigidly hardens into wrong. The heroes against oppression at one time,


FRANCE £21,056,000.
HOLLAND £8,008,000.
SPAIN £5,152,000.
DENMARK £590,000.
PORTUGAL £317,000.
The entire Figure represents the Trade of the
UNITED KINGDOM with its Colonies. £186,358,000.

have become tyrants. All who differ from them they call idiots; and they believe in no policy that will not help them to feed their operatives cheaply, and reduce the cost of everything to the lowest point. We think if they would leave England and look more closely into what is taking place in that great federation of states across our border, they would pause before deciding that the panacea for all evils in trade had been found in her ultra Free Trade policy. But Mr. Bright threw out a darker menace and showed his entire want of sympathy towards Canada and the other colonies in speaking of the Fisheries dispute. He said if Canada were an independent state the dispute would soon be settled; for she would yield to the arguments of her neighbor. Evidently, from this, he thinks that might, not right, should settle the fishery question. I need not say more: it shows how men of ability may give way to prejudice, and whenever the colonies are named Mr. Bright loses his better judgment. How much more patriotic and independent are the views of Mr. Forster which he expresses in his pamphlet on Federation, the spirit which should animate all He says: "Are we the fellow countrymen of our kinsmen in the colonies? Are we and they determined to continue to be fellow countrymen? Do we and they love our country and strive for its welfare? Do we and they believe that this welfare depends on the maintenance of the Union; and are we and they determined to maintain it?" This sounds more like the appeal of that noble Roman who asked his fellow countrymen if there was one of them so rude as would not be a Roman. So to-night I may say if

there is any one here who would not reply to Mr Forster and say that we are determined to continue to be fellow countrymen and to maintain the Union, we do not wish him to join our League.

With reference to the fiscal policy, we have to admit that England has been the champion of that ultra free trade policy which has been defended by the ablest statesmen and political economists of the day. It is even now almost equal to high treason, or regarded as an evidence of helpless imbecility to question the perfect correctness of the theory that no matter what hostile tariff any country raises against Great Britain her best interests are served by keeping her ports open alike to friend and foe. Until the adoption of the N. P., this country endeavored to follow the principles of Free Trade, and we all know how adversely we seemed to be affected by the action of the United States, who imposed duties on a scale that were almost prohibitory ; and in addition to this, she indirectly discriminated against Great Britain, for instance in her tea duties. Canada at that time, before the adoption of the N. P was charging from fifteen to seventeen per cent on certain articles of her imports, the average duty not being over seven to eight per cent, and the United States was imposing as high as fifty to sixty. The Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States was at an end. The States declined to renew it, and we then found ourselves engaged in an unequal contest, receiving the surplus of their produce and manufactures, the former free, and only charging them from fifteen to seventeen per cent on the latter, while the United States charged us on every bushel




The entire Figure represents the Total General Trade of the
UNITED KINGDOM £715,371,000.

of grain, on every head of live stock, and put on almost a prohibitive duty on our manufactured articles, our lumber and our agricultural implements. It was at this time that Great Britain might have challenged the hostile tariff of the United States. As it was, she remained neutral, as if she had no interest, extending no greater advantages to Canada or the West Indies which at that time were suffering in common with us, and are still to-day suffering.

Well, you all know, Canada at that time adopted the National Policy, a system pure and simple of protection. I believe if it had been possible, Canada would have had the courage of initiating a retaliatory policy, but owing to the treaty obligations made by Great Britain not only on her own account but binding her dependencies, that was not practicable, and would have clashed with treaties granting what is known as "the most favored nation clause" We therefore framed our fiscal policy as far as was possible, as we thought best for our own interests, and the manufacturers and free traders of England complained bitterly of the action then taken. If Great Britain had even then made any overtures to her colonies, I believe they would have fallen in with any general free trade policy, and would have taken in all other countries that would have extended reciprocal rights. While it is impossible for many of the colonies to have complete Free Trade, at least for some time, as certain duties have to be raised for revenue purposes, it may be stated without dispute that each year that a country follows a protective tariff, the more difficult it is for her to abandon it, and the more will her manufacturers be dependent

upon it. To-day Great Britain boasts that she raises no revenue on any manufactured article or produce of the soil that can be raised at home. Now, I cannot see that if a certain portion of revenue must be raised by duties, why these duties should not be placed on articles on which foreign countries would be likely to pay portion of if not all. Why should Great Britain put a tax on coffee and cocoa going from the West Indies, or on tea and coffee from Ceylon and India, at the same time admitting free all the surplus products and manufactures from the United States and other foreign countries that will not allow reciprocal advantages.

If we cannot just now induce Great Britain to change her policy, we might try to have closer trade relations with our sister colonies. With this in view I hope that we will before long appoint agents to represent our commercial interests in Australia and the other colonies. They may be able to have some of the barriers that now exist removed; and with countries which exact a heavy duty on our lumber and products of the soil we should try to have these duties lowered or removed entirely by reciprocating in some articles they export. In this way I believe our industries would flourish, our manufactories would open up new markets, and be on a sounder basis, and we should be moving towards the more enlightened policy of Free Trade, not free imports with barriers erected against us in almost every other country in the world; but by an intelligent use of the advantages we possess to induce our sister colonies first to join in a closer fiscal union, and by stimulating freer exchange of the natural products of our

several climates. Then we should be anxious to defend our mutual trade. The defence of the Empire would follow, and each portion would be glad to contribute a quota, and could afford to do so because of the prosperity that would be the result of this policy.

To show how little we do at present with the other colonies I call your attention to the diagram of our trade with them.

Another important feature which presents itself in dealing with this fiscal policy, is what attraction does such system offer to the immigrant. The argument is used in Great Britain that the cost of living in the United States is so high that the wages of the laboring classes are are not equal to a seemingly much lower scale of rates that prevails in other countries. Well, what is the result? Notwithstanding the increased cost of living, the poor immigrant evidently finds that the United States hitherto has proved the most attractive field for labor. Glance at the returns of the aliens in the United States in 1880 also at the number of immigrants who entered the States in 1883.

It is gratifing to find that the past year or two has proved that a change in this current has begun to show itself. Canada is receiving a larger share of the immigrants arriving from Europe, and I believe fewer are leaving their homes here to find employment in the United States. Of course a large proportion of the seventy-nine thousand who are on the list of 1882 must have been immigrants who merely passed through Canada always having the States

**STATEMENT of the Trade of the UNITED KINGDOM with each of its principal Colonies, showing the Annual Average Value of Imports and Exports in each of the Triennial Periods, 1874-76 and 1881-83.**

| | IMPORTED. | | EXPORTED. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Average of 1874-76. | Average of 1881-83. | Average of 1874-76. | Average of 1881-83. |
| Channel Islands | £678,000 | £804,000 | £846,000 | £799,000 |
| Gibraltar | 81,000 | 33,000 | 1,184,000 | 809,000 |
| Malta | 244,000 | 159,000 | 972,000 | 1,162,000 |
| West African Settlements | 134,000 | 222,000 | 326,000 | 365,000 |
| The Gold Coast | 496,000 | 402,000 | 530,000 | 473,000 |
| Cape of Good Hope and Natal | 4,323,000 | 5,861,000 | 4,912,000 | 6,923,000 |
| Mauritius | 335,000 | 437,000 | 453,000 | 536,000 |
| North American Colonies | 11,032,000 | 11,328,000 | 9,306,000 | 10,033,000 |
| West India Islands & Guiana | 6,803,000 | 5,704,000 | 3,336,000 | 3,373,000 |
| British Honduras | 209,000 | 230,000 | 141,000 | 127,000 |
| British India | 30,456,000 | 37,144,000 | 24,902,000 | 31,672,000 |
| Straits Settlements | 2,799,000 | 4,336,000 | 2,324,000 | 2,677,000 |
| Ceylon | 3,672,000 | 2,239,000 | 1,169,000 | 793,000 |
| Hong Kong | 1,086,000 | 1,206,000 | 3,670,000 | 3,[illegible],000 |
| Australasia | 20,356,000 | 26,035,000 | 20,455,000 | 26,424,000 |
| Other Possessions | 305,000 | 416,000 | 374,000 | 305,000 |
| | 83,639,000 | 96,550,000 | 74,904,000 | 89,806,000 |

as their goal, and were not our own population leaving—at least not to that extent.

In this matter I think Great Britain has been supine in her cosmopolitan spirit. She has shown indifference as to where her immigrants went; and at one time would coldly enquire what difference did it make where the people went to. Happily the Germans have shewn Great Britain the great advantages that she possesses by having such colonies, and we have all marked the strenuous efforts made by Bismark of late years to secure an outlet for their emigrants where they still would be under German protection.

The tables of statistics showing the imports and exports of the United States with Great Britain are interesting as they show the great increase of the one and the relative decrease of the other. You will note also that although Great Britain imports from the United States £86,000,000, she only sends manufactures in exchange to the extent of £30,000,000. In other words she has to pay the United States either in cash or exchange an annual amount of about £50,000,000 or £52,000,000. This, no doubt, is covered to a large extent by interest due on loans made by Great Britain in former years.

I will repeat what I claim, that if the United States had been challenged twenty years ago when they put on the prohibitive tariff, and a retaliatory policy pursued not only by Great Britain, but also by all her colonies, the United States could not have maintained their tariff, and I am satisfied the United States have

## IMMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND TO

| | 1880 | 1881 | 1882 | 1883 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States.. | 130,000 | 146,000 | 153,000 | 144,000 |
| Canada..... | 16,000 | 18,000 | 34,000 | 37,000 |
| Australia..... | 18,000 | 16,000 | 30,000 | 64,000 |

| Total Immigrants into | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Canada. | for U. S. |
| 1880... | 85,000 | 47,000 |
| 1881... | 117,000 | 69,000 |
| 1882... | 193,000 | 80,000 |
| 1883... | 205,000 | 72,000 |
| 1884... | 166,000 | 62,000 |
| 1885... | 105,000 | 25,000 |

| Immigration to U. S. | | |
|---|---|---|
| up to 1820... | 250,000 | |
| 1821 to 1830... | 151,000 | Annual Average |
| 1831 to 1840... | 599,000 | 59,000 |
| 1841 to 1850 | | 171,000 |
| 1851 to 1860 | | 259,000 |
| 1861 to 1870 | | 249,000 |
| 1871 to 1880 | | 294,000 |
| 1881 to 1883 | | 639,000 |

| Largest Immigration to United States 1882. | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 250,000 |
| United Kingdom | 178,000 |
| Canada | 79,000 |
| Norway and Sweden | 94,000 |
| Other Countries | 110,000 |
| | 711,000 |

## ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ALIENS IN UNITED STATES AND THE COUNTRIES OF THEIR ORIGIN IN 1880.

| | |
|---|---|
| United Kingdom | 2,769,000 |
| Germany | 1,966,000 |
| Canada | 717,000 |
| Norway and Sweden | 376,000 |
| Other Countries | 700,000 |

grown rich by the one sided Free Trade given to them by Great Britain. Now, do you not think that the colonial members of a council sitting in London might bring some influence to bear on this question? Therefore believing, this is why I claim that the aim of Great Britain and her colonies should be, that the interest of each component part should be dear alike to all—that the duties raised in England and the colonies might be so levied as to discriminate in favor of each other, and offering the same advantages to countries that would enter into reciprocal rights with them.

The difficulties attending confederation are lessening every day. The increased number and much greater size and speed of the ocean steamships, the ease and rapidity with which by means of electricity we can communicate with the most distant parts of the Empire; the reduced cost, yet improved facilities of the postal service all over the world; and perhaps no work has contributed more to the possibilities of Imperial Federation than the construction of our own great national line of railway across this Continent, from Halifax to Vancouver. This, with the proposed direct cable from Victoria to Australia, followed, I hope, by a direct line from Belle-Isle to the North of Scotland, and one from Halifax to Jamaica. These, with existing cables, will make communication easier and quicker between colonies which oceans divide than could be obtained but a few years ago between people living within the narrow limits of Great Britain herself. Delegates now from the most distant colonies can be assembled in London with less personal exertion than was required

## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

| | IMPORTS. | | EXPORTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1884. | 1885. | 1884. | 1885. |
| United States..... | £86,280,000 | £86,500,000 | £32,7000,000 | £31,000,000 |
| British Possessions..... | 95,000 000 | 84,400,000 | 88,303,000 | 85,400,000 |
| Foreign..... | 208,000,000 | 200,000,000 | 175,000,000 | 154,000,000 |
| | £389,280,000 | £370,900,000 | £296,003,000 | £270,400,000 |

### Annual Imports into Great Britain, Free of Duty from Foreign Countries, average of 10 years.

| | |
|---|---|
| SILK, . . . . . | £10,000,000 |
| WOOLLENS . . . . | 7,000,000 |
| COTTONS . . . . . | 2,000,000 |
| CHEMICALS . . . . | 1,000,000 |
| CLOCKS . . . . . | 1,000,000 |
| COPPER . . . . . | 3,000,000 |
| GLASS . . . . . | 2,000,000 |
| GLOVES . . . . . | 2,000,000 |
| LEATHER . . . . . | 3,000,000 |
| SUGAR . . . . . | 4,000,000 |

### Average of the Annual Trade of the United States.

| | EXPORTS. | IMPORTS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1866 to 1870..... | $320,841,605 | $408,294,877 |
| 1871 to 1875..... | 501,840,687 | 577,873,349 |
| 1876 to 1880..... | 676,760,751 | 492,569,673 |
| 1881 to 1885..... | 771,892,473 | 667,142,033 |

within the present century for many members of the British houses of Parliament to meet together from their homes in Ireland and Scotland

Eight years ago when a delegation of Colonists waited upon the Rt. Hon. Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, to lay before him their views in favor of closer trade relations, he concluded that they could have no higher aim than the advancement of some petty trade privileges. He received the deputation with satirical politeness and told them a worn out story of some French candle manufacturers who waited on their Finance Minister to have the sun's light obscured that it might increase the consumption of their candles. One of the Australian delegates replied that before many years would have passed, the question would command the attention of the British Parliament, and that Her Majesty's ministers would be then forced to give it consideration.

Compare this with the reception which the conference to which I have alluded received in April last—not only countenanced by the Government but held at the Foreign Office, and presided over by Sir Henry Holland (now Lord Knutsford), Colonial Secretary. There were present the Prime Minister, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Cadogan, and First Lord of the Treasury the leader of Her Majesty's Government, W. H. Smith, Rt. Hon. E Stanhope, Foreign Secretary, Lord George Hamilton, Earl Granville, Earl of Onslow, Marquis of Normanby, Sir George Bowen, Sir Henry Buckley, and many others who had been resident in the colonies or who were directly

connected with them, Lord Salisbury spoke then of the cause as "our great aspiration," and pointed out that there was no gulf fixed between the aspiration and the actual undertaking. He drew a comparsion between the case of the German Empire and our own, and stated that though not immediately practicable a custom's union "is not in the nature of things impossible." This, I believe, is the key-stone of our projects without which the structure cannot be built Lord Salisbury closed his speech on that occasion with these words "We may, by our organization, by our agreement, present to the world the spectacle of a vast Empire founded, not upon force, nor upon subjection, but upon a hearty sympathy and a resolute co-operation in attaining all those high objects of human endeavor which are open to an empire such as this." Lord Granville followed, and said that whatever difference there might be between party politicians in home questions, they were all ready to co-operate in great Imperial questions, and he concluded by wishing the conference "God speed", and expressed the hope that it might tend to increase the links which bind the different portions of the Empire together

In a few words, to summarize the advance made in this movement, I may record the following as having been developed out of the nebulous matter, which Lord Salisbury predicted would cool down and condense into a material with practical results

First—The acceptance of the principle of Imperial defence.

Secondly—The agreement that no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs.

Thirdly—The admission that it is necessary to include into the scheme some plan for facilitating close trade relations between the colonies and Great Britain.

My own opinion respecting this last clause is and has been since the first conference was held, that it must be taken hold of by the colonies first. This view of it is now taken by the President of the Canadian Branch of the League; and lately it has been arranged to hold a conference in Ottawa for delegates from Australia and, I presume, other colonies, to discuss this clause.

Instead of being discouraged at the progress made, I am astonished at the rapidity with which it had spread. I never thought it wise to formulate any programme, as I felt assured that the constructive policy would begin as soon as public feeling required it.

One important Liberal magazine recommended our adopting the motto of "FESTINA LENTE".

Eight years ago the press neither of England nor the colonies had ever written an article on this subject. To-day there is hardly a daily paper, a monthly, or quarterly magazine, that does not devote a portion of its articles to it. The "Times" who ridiculed our first meeting in London admits in an article in its issue of the 1st April last, "That there are two great though partial forms of federation, both of which have been proved possible by

experience, and both of which leave wholly untouched all vexed questions that arise the instant an attempt is made to think out political federation. One is the combination of self governing communities for mutual aid in the great contests of industry, the other is a similar combination for mutual defence against violent aggression."

The Liberal papers were almost unanimous in their expressions of hope as to the results of this movement after the conference. One of them—and it really expresses the almost universal opinion—wrote as follows: "It ought to be a sufficient rebuke to those people who are ever ready to talk silly stuff about the degradation of patriotism into partisanship, that in the midst of such a political storm as this, when party feeling flames hot and bitter, the leaders of both parties should meet on equal and amicable terms to confer together as to the means for adding strength and coherence to their common heritage of country and empire".

Another, and the last which I shall quote wrote "Our distinguished fellow subjects from across the seas will find us all delighted to turn aside from the occupation of rending one another in order to grasp hands and assure them with the utmost sincerity and truth of an earnest wish that the Imperial Council to which they have come may powerfully assist the cause of British co-operation throughout the world for all purposes of security and prosperity."

In closing, I would borrow the words of Sir Rawson Rawson at the end of his pamphlet: "That Great Britain has become great and still maintains her greatness, in on

small degree, by the possession of her colonies, and through the bonds of kinship and of mutual interest and sympathy, which, in spite of all temporary misunderstanding and conflicting views, are yearly knitting them more closely together ; and that subject to those changes which time may bring about, and a concensus of interests and desires may dictate the fixed and unwavering policy of our rulers should be that England and her colonies are one and indivisible."

Since reading the foregoing lecture, I have been asked by several friends if I would not print it, and as my only desire is to arouse an interest, and if possible show that Imperial Federation has none of the objectionable features which some of its opponents would clothe it with, I have concluded to do so.

I would also like to say that any reference I may have made in it to the United States has not been actuated by any feeling of hostility, but only to show that our best interests would be served by continuing our present connection with Great Britain, and still more, if it be possible, by drawing our trade relations closer with not only Great Britain but all the other colonies. I believe much good could be done by a meeting with representatives from the United States to talk over our present commercial position with them. I cannot think that any great nation can willingly be countenancing an indirect breach of agreement such as they have allowed

since the treaty of 1869. It is well known that at that time Canada gave to the United States the use of our rivers and canals and the Government at Washington obligated itself to use its best endeavours to obtain from the several Federal States the same privileges for Canada. From that time to this the Americans have been enjoying the benefits that we gave them, but the best endeavours of the United States Government have not resulted in one Canadian boat passing through to New York with same privileges as American boats Is this fair or equitable ?

Again, is it not worthy of a great nation to take all the advantages that her neighbor will give her in conjunction with the mother country, and send her vessels to and fro without let or hindrance from one part of the Empire to another and back again, but if a Canadian vessel arrives in New York with a cargo, she cannot clear from there to San Francisco, a voyage of several months, as they claim it is a coasting voyage. Can anything be more strained than the interpretation they have put on this question ?

The Fishery dispute is beyond our reach, and is better not touched upon in a paper like this, but would it not be possible for both countries to arrive at a better understanding if all commercial questions were taken up and quietly discussed by representatives of commerce from both countries.

I have since read, with a great deal of pleasure, an article in the " Century " Magazine, written by George R. Parkin, and I copy from it one or two extracts which I

append to this paper, hoping that the writer of the article will excuse my freedom, as they cover so completely several points I would have liked to have touched upon. First, as to the interest which first aroused the promoters of Imperial Federation, the article says: "For the world "at large, civilized and uncivilized, there is not at present "in the whole range of possible political variation, any "question of such far-reaching significance as whether "Great Britain shall remain a political unit, with effective "energy equal to her actual and increasing greatness, or, "yielding to some process of disintegration or dismem- "berment, shall abdicate her present position of world "wide influence, and suffer the great current of her "natural life to be broken up into many separate channels."

Secondly, in relation to how it may be regarded by our French-Canadian fellow subjects and also as to the result of the alternative that is spoken of by some, namely independence.

"French-Canadians are not only content with their "political condition, but warmly loyal to British con- "nection. Their greatest statesman emphasized, but "scarcely exaggerated this attitude of mind when he des- "cribed himself as an Englishman speaking French. So "high an authority as Cardinal Manning told me not long "since that French-Canadian Bishops and clergy had over "and over again assured him, that their people were "practically a unit in preferring British to French con- "nection. There is no doubt that in respect of either "religious freedom or political security the preference is

"justified. The lapse of years brings into stronger relief
"the truth of Montalembert's remark, that the Frenchmen
"of Canada had gained under British rule a freedom
"which the Frenchmen of France never knew. With
"this sentiment, which makes unity possible, the natural
"interest coincides. For the colonies, the alternative is
"independence, when as small and struggling nationalities
"they will have to take their place in a world which has
"developed distinct tendencies towards the agglomeration
"of immense states, and where absorption or comparative
"insignificance can alone await them. For Great Britain
"the choice is between amalgamating permanently in
"some way her strength and resources with those of the
"colonies, or abdicating the relatively foremost place
"which she now holds among the nations. The growth
"in population of the United States and the expansion of
"Russia are already beginning to dwarf by comparison
"all other nations. Those confined to Europe will, within
"the next fifty years, be out of the first rank, Great Britain
"alone, with unlimited room for healthful expansion on
"other continents, has the possibility of a future equal to
"the greatest; has the chance of retaining her hegemony
"as a ruling and civilizing power. Should she throw
"away the opportunity, her history will be one of arrested
"development. The process by which her vast colonial
"empire has come to her has been one of spontaneous
"growth, the outcome of a decisive national tendency.
"By inherent inclination the Anglo-Saxon is a trader.
"The character is one of which we need not feel ashamed.
"It has been found to consist in our history, with all the

"fighting energy of the Roman and much of the intel-
"lectual energy of the Greek. It does not seem incom-
"patible with the moral energy of Christianity, and
"furnishes the widest opportunity for its exercise."

Thirdly, the opinions which would be entertained, and the moral influence, in case we should both break from the Mother Country, and fearing independence, should join hands with the United States, Mr. Parkin writes: "In spite of this evidence of a century's history, "Mr. Goldwin Smith still argues that trade interests will "ultimately draw Canada into political connection with "the United States, and apparently does not understand "why his opinion is rejected with indignation by the "vast majority of Canadians. Yet it seems impossible to "conceive how, without a debasement of public senti-"ment quite unparalleled in history, a people whose "history began in loyalty to British institutions, who "through a hundred years have been sheltered by British "power, who under that rule have attained and enjoyed "the most complete political and religious liberty, who "have constantly professed the most devoted regards for "a mother land with which they are connected by a "thousand ties of affectionate sympathy, should deliber-"ately, in cold blood, and for commercial reasons only, "break that connection and join themselves to a state in "whose history and traditions they have no part. They "would incur and unquestionably would deserve, alike "the contempt of the people they abandon, and of the "people they join. In a Great Britain reorganized as a "federation, or union, or alliance, Canada would hold an

"honorable place, gained on lines of true national develop-
"ment; in annexation to the United States she could have
"nothing but a bastard nationally, the offspring of either
"meanness, selfishness, or fear. What is thus true of
"Canada is true of the other British Colonies as well.
"The forces which make for unity and continuity of
"national life are not only strong, but noble and natural.